

195 example, was the outcome of years of bloody fighting between settlers from Chianchou and Changchou, the prize in this case being domination of the port facilities and trade with the mainland. To what extent the early residents of Chichou became involved in these struggles we cannot now say, but that they did become involved is almost certain. Again and again fighting which began in Taipei flared into major armed conflicts which rapidly spread over the countryside, often disturbing the peace of cities as far away as the southern end of the island. It is perhaps significant to note that it was not until the early 1920's that the first Changchou woman married into Hsiachichou and that even today she is stigmatized with the name Chang-ah. And finally, aside from the threat posed by the aborigines and the danger of war with other Chinese, the early settlers of Chichou were plagued with bandits.

[57] As late as 1870 the bandits of the Hsulin area were so powerful as to be able to resist all official interference. According to the missionary George MacKay, the subprefect and his retinue narrowly escaped death in this area in 1873, and at that time it was apparently not uncommon for the bandits of the area "to form a company and march into the town, singing boastfully, with a wild kind of yell ... 'You trust the mandarins; we trust the mountains.'"¹

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• 613 Considering these various external threats, it is not surprising that for a long time the early inhabitants of Chichou united to form a single corporate lineage, a fact we can infer from the existence of a

¹ George L. MacKay, From Far Formosa, (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1895), p. 160.

195 genealogy which records the names of their male children. Common member-

- 613 ship in a corporate lineage probably served to remind the various families of the area of their common ancestry and joint responsibility, and lineage land holdings must have helped to insure the success of their cooperative efforts by providing the necessary element of self-interest. As the population of Chichou increased, however, this organization was weakened. What must have begun as small independent homesteads grew into villages; these quarreled with one another over the management of the lineage's joint land holdings; and as a result the original lineage fragmented into several independent organizations.

At the same time a few families of other surnames began settling in

- 195 Chichou. As early as the end of the 18th century a Tan family settled
621 in the area of the district that is now Hsiachichou, and during the
613 course of the 19th century families from the Ng and Lim villages on
634 either side of Chichou established branches within its boundaries.

These early incursions have been followed in the present century by an ever increasing influx of what the Ong families still refer to as "outsiders." The result of these two processes is that today the district of Chichou consists of five independent Ong lineages each of which occupies a community in which a third of their neighbors are families of another surname. The unity of Chichou is maintained by the Ong families' recognition of their common origin and former interdependence; the independence and individual identity of each of the five lun is achieved as a result of the fact that each is built around a core of closely related Ong families who comprise an independent lineage.

582 in such a situation tension between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law may strain affinal ties, but their primary concern is the effect of such a situation upon the mother-in-law daughter-in-law relationship itself. They fear that the girl's having natural allies in the same community will exacerbate what is at best a relationship of restrained hostility. Our genealogies include only four cases of preferred marriages in which the man and wife were both residents of Hsiachichou prior to their marriage, and these four cases are all exceptional in that the parties were members of families belonging to the same lineage. While ordinarily considered incestuous, such marriages are permissible in one situation. If a family adopts a daughter to marry to one of their sons and for some reason this marriage does not materialize, the girl is then eligible to marry into families belonging to the same lineage as her foster family. As to why village families are willing to contract endogamous marriages within their lineage but not outside it, we can only guess, having not seen the significance of the question while we were still in a position to collect pertinent data. Perhaps the strength of the prior agnatic ties effectively precludes the tensions which are apt to arise when marriages are contracted between families who are not close kinsmen and who do not belong to a common kinship organization.

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*584 Unlike the situation in many areas of China, preferred marriages in Hsiachichou seldom begin as infant betrothals. Occasionally, two women who are close friends will discuss the possibility of marrying an infant son and daughter, but such discussions are not ordinarily

3: Wolf

AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

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[Information on the Lim family as a lineage will also be found in the category 596.]

chapter 2

THE
VILLAGE

361 Passing out of the narrow lane into the open countryside is like pass-
13 ing through the gates of a walled city. The backs of the tall, window-
less brick houses form a solid barrier between the noise of the town
and the stillness of the country. The shouts of street hawkers and the
loud inquiries of customers are softened to a murmur. The senses are
now more impressed by what is seen than by what is heard. In the
distance the mountains limit the eyes' sweep. Even the thick anarchy
of ferns and trees and vines does not relieve their harsh, jagged lines.
But, on a hot day, as the humidity builds up, the mountains recede,
become vague and indistinct, the misty impressions of an old Chinese
scroll. An uneven line of shrubs and trees, darker in color, more
precise in outline, seems to be at the base of the mountains but
actually is several miles closer, hugging the damp banks of the Tamsui
River, sheltering the village of Peihotien. This area on which Tapu
turns its back is known as Hotien.

* 596 Although there are now many surnames represented in Hotien, the
601 district was originally settled by the Lim family. The Chinese record
173 the births, marriages, and deaths of their male progeny in genealogies,
• 613 thus providing a skeletal history of their lineage. To them, the impor-
175 tant part of the document is the long family tree which traces their
line of descent back through many centuries, but in most genealogies
there is also a short essay describing the family's place of origin, the
location of the clan temple that houses the memorial tablets of more
distant ancestors, and perhaps even some sketches of the temple itself.

124 It is from a document of this kind and from rambling conversations
173 with the elderly men and women of Peihotien that I obtained the
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[p.10]

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

The Village

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mythical-historical background of the Lim family with whom we lived.

As with nearly all of the ancestors of the Hokkien-speaking residents of Taiwan, the Lims' ancestors were born in the province of Fukien. Around 1770, two Lim brothers left their village in the Tungan district of Chuanchou and migrated to Taiwan, lured by the prospect of free virgin land. After looking around a bit, they settled along the Tamsui River and began to till the soil. Evidently they prospered, for their descendants were numerous. Every few years a member of the group went back to Chuanchou to pay their respects to the ancestors in the lineage temple in Fukien and to record in the family genealogy the recent deaths and births in Taiwan. The trip was not an easy one and after several generations the Taiwan branch of the family began to feel less closely allied to the family in their old home. At last a representative was sent to make a copy of the old genealogy in Chuanchou and bring it to Taiwan. From then on, only the names of the descendants of the two Lim brothers who migrated to Taiwan were entered in the genealogy. Until the middle of the nineteenth century, the Lims of Hotien were a strong and united group. Some of the family units were more successful than others, but even the landless families who worked as tenants under their more fortunate kinsmen shared in the profits from the portion of land owned jointly by all Lims. The proceeds from this corporate land were used to finance various activities, not the least of which was a huge feast at the annual meeting.

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Toward the end of the nineteenth century, the lineage organization of the Lims began to disintegrate, splintering along the lines of the main family branches. Often the dissolution of large lineages such as the Lims follows disagreements over the management of the joint land holdings or suspicion of malfeasance in the disposition of their profits. Whatever the cause in the Lim family, the elders of the dissident branches once again copied the original genealogy and from that time forward entered only the names of the descendants of their own branch.

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Just when and in what order these events took place in the district of Hotien is subject to question. The elderly, the men and women in their 70's, are the people who have both the time and the interest to speculate about the past. They share with all men the desire to tell the way it ought to have been rather than the way it was, to

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The House of Lim

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[634] simplify rather than to complicate. Often their interpretations are devised from half-remembered stories of their own aged parents and grandparents. According to the residents of Hotien, the district is comprised of four distinct areas. The most common explanation for these sections is that they reflect the settlement pattern of the five branches of the Lim lineage when it disintegrated, two of the branches living so close together that they formed a single section. This explanation has some validity. Although all are related, the Lims within each area are more closely related to each other than they are to the Lims in adjoining areas. The four sections are inhabited by clusters of kinsmen bound together by ties of common descent. In earlier years when the nearby hills still posed a threat of bandits, kinsmen collected together for mutual protection, but even now few families consider building at any great distance from their relatives. A family in need of additional living space usually adds to the old family home or builds a new structure next door. The bonds of kinship alone are enough to create a sense of community.

While the Lim clan was breaking apart, families of other surnames were moving into the areas, building homes on the edges of the Lim villages and buying land from Lim families who for one reason or another came upon bad times. The influx of other surnames occurred too late in the settlement of the Hotien area, however, for them to challenge the dominance of the Lims. An Ong family in Peihotien has lived there for nearly a hundred years, but they are nonetheless outsiders in a Lim village and still are referred to amusingly as "new-comers." A Chinese other than a Lim suffers from no discriminatory practices in Peihotien, but he always feels a certain uneasiness when he notes that about every third person his neighbor meets is a relative while he himself may not run across a single relation, regardless of how many trusted friends cross his path.

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[65] With each new colonial administration or reform movement on Taiwan the Hotien area has been divided and recombined into different administrative districts. It is not surprising that the residents of the area have come to ignore the official districts, accepting as inevitable that the office to which they went last year to pay their taxes will impatiently direct them elsewhere this year. Their religious organization and social affairs are conducted within the boundaries that have historical significance for some and permanence for all, the four areas that grew out of the division of the Lim descent group generations

The Village

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ago. I doubt that the more recent arrivals in Peihotien are even aware of the origin of the cooperation between the four areas. Although it is apparent to the least observant that the area is dominated by Lims, the exclusiveness found in clan villages in mainland China does not exist here. The ties which connect the four villages of Hotien more closely to each other than to the surrounding villages are not questioned, nor are the rights and obligations of those within the district, regardless of surname. The temple in the center of Hotien is supported by all four areas and though the list of donors is dominated by the name Lim, it is in no sense a Lim temple. When it was Peihotien's turn to cleanse the gods of the temple by carrying them across a bed of hot coals, the carriers were not limited to Lims but to residents of Peihotien village.

In many ways this temple, the home of Shang Ti Kung, is a focal point for the district of Hotien. During my stay in the area the villagers spent a great deal of time and money in totally refurbishing the temple, and celebrated its completion in a three-day festival of rededication. Shang Ti Kung is responsible for the district of Hotien in much the same way as the Mandarins of old were responsible for particular districts. Once each year he is placed on a sedan chair and carried through the four sections of his district on a tour of inspection. The sound of cymbals and firecrackers punctuates his progress and along the way his subjects greet him with bows and incense, mingling prayers and offerings. During the rest of the year he stays in his temple where he is visited daily by villagers seeking advice and help. Shang Ti Kung can cure a sick pig, raise the price of rice, discipline an unmanageable daughter-in-law, make a barren woman fertile. He is not obliged to provide these services, but if approached with respect and handsomely bribed, he might.

While Shang Ti Kung influences the welfare of the entire district of Hotien, his underling, Tu Ti Kung, is associated with smaller areas, the villages. To one side of the main path into Peihotien there is a magnificent old tree, thick of trunk and limb. Beneath it is a small stone shrine, the home of Peihotien's Tu Ti Kung. Although he lacks Shang Ti Kung's influence in heaven, Tu Ti Kung is a valuable intermediary. He passes on complaints about local conditions and makes decisions about where and when new buildings may be constructed and old ones torn down. He is the scribe and recorder for the supernatural bureaucracy; to him the villagers must report each birth,

4: Barnett

AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

● 613

[Information on tsu has been filed in category 618.]

621 Individual villagers are combined into chia
592 (families) and hu (households). Although the two terms
are not necessarily synonymous, in Sanlei they are effectively identical for each hu consists of a single chia. Although there is a range from one to nineteen, the average size of the chia is 6.2 members in Sanlei, and 6.25 members for all of Talei Li including Sanlei. These household averages are significantly larger than the 5.8 listed for Taiwan as a whole (United Nations Statistical Yearbook, 1969:712-3).

621 Although not listed in the official government
602 records, a number of chia in the village are combined into
• 613 several distinct agnatic corporate groups (see Chapter V). Historically, Sanlei was a single surname village but not all the agnatic groups in the village could specify the kinds of relationships they had to each other in detail. However, "all people bearing one surname were by that fact, agnates, for they were considered to be descendants of a common ancestor in the male line" (Freedman, 1958:4). Villagers with the same surname considered themselves to be kinsmen and surname exogamy was absolute. In the last forty years, families with other surnames have been locating in the village. However, the major surname, Liao, is possessed by over fifty per cent of the residents at present.

621 There are no wealthy families in Sanlei Ts'un al-
556 though there are substantial differences in life style
between the poorest and the richest. There is a direct
relationship between family size and relative economic
position. Moreover, wealthy individuals are believed to
be the most competent and usually, the most virtuous.
Most of the formal and informal community leaders are
drawn from the wealthier families.

621 Liao-surnamed families dominate the upper class
• 613 group in the village. Only two families surnamed Chiu
(sharing the same great grandfather) have joined this
group. One is a tea processor and the other owns one of
the two village stores. Some Chiu female descendants
have married Liao men in the village. However, almost
every village leader, formal or informal, is surnamed
Liao. The only two major exceptions are a Huang who is
the stepson of a Liao and who gave up one of his sons to
his Liao-surnamed step-brother and a Chien who is an
adopted husband in a Liao family.

621 Every ten or twelve contiguous hu are officially
624 combined into lin (neighborhoods). Each lin has a lin
chang (lin head or neighborhood leader) who is selected
632 by consensus. The next larger significant government
[666] unit is the li. There is a regular one-man one-vote elec-
tion for the li chang (mayor) and for a representative to
the township council, the next higher level administrative

182 necessary to maintain an extended family. These processes
183 are a rational application of permitted alternatives to
59 achieve culturally defined goals.

The improvement of economic conditions, the rapidly changing demographic rates, and the changing values originating from the larger modernizing society are undoubtedly going to change the typical family life cycles previously described.

The Basis of Extra-Familial Kinship Organizations

121 Families are building blocks in the larger kinship
618 units, the clan and the tsu (lineage). The clan consists
• 613 of people who have the same surname and are therefore assumed to have descended from the same ancestor although the genealogical details are unknown. Fried (1957; 1966) has referred to this assumption as "stipulated descent" and contrasted it with the foundation for the lineage, "demonstrated descent," where the exact details of genealogical connections are known. There are a number of border situations found in Sanlei Ts'un which are difficult to place in either category.

618 Usually a surname was said to be established by some particular historical individual from whom generations are numbered such that most people know the number of their own generation. It is assumed then that although two individuals with the same surname may not know which is the most recent generational ancestor they share, i.e., eighth

796 conversation, most repetitions of the story liberally
794 sprinkled with "we" and "they."
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The Temple versus an Ancestral Hall

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621 In a discussion of the significance of ancestral
182 hall associations in Chinese village life, Freedman
794 (1958: 1966) reports they constitute dominant structural
[171] features of many communities in Southeastern China from
whence the majority of Sanlei residents migrated. He
also points out there are other kinds of social organi-
zations in local communities such as voluntary associ-
ations (1958:92-5). Hsiao Kung-chuan (1960:278) contrasted
a village dominated by an ancestral hall association
with another village dominated by a temple association
and suggested the two kinds of organizations may be
alternative structures fulfilling identical functions.
Topley (1968:19) argues that seldom would a village have
both an active temple organization and an active ancestral
hall association for such would likely lead to much
disharmony. She suspects that both "ancestral hall and
temple organizations must have been alternative forms for
controlling village affairs--the one being based on mono-
lineage villages," although the literature does not always
relate the temple organization to village composition in
kinship terms (1968:19).

• [613] On one level, Sanlei constituted an ideal situation
for the establishment of a strong lineage village. Since
the migrants who founded Sanlei came from an area of China

121 noted for its single lineage villages, there was con-
182 siderable previous experience with lineage structures
• 613 and, as noted previously, the home village on the main-
621 land had a large ancestral hall association. Moreover,
794 there was a single surname, Liao, which encompassed almost
all residents in the early history of the community and
still predominates. In spite of these facts, a community
temple association evolved rather than a strong lineage
organization. I suggest the arguments advanced by
Pasternak (1969:551-61) concerning the role of the
frontier in lineage development are more cogent than
Freedman's contention that the frontier is a stimulus
to lineage development (1966:163-4). In essence, Pasternak
claims that the frontier required such "extensive
cooperation for purposes of defense and environmental
exploitation among unrelated family and lineage fragments"
(1969:560-1) that lineages would not develop and become
strong.

Sanlei data support Pasternak's position. Sanlei
village was established in an area occupied by hostile
aborigines who attacked so frequently, it was necessary
to build a wall around the village and mount a regular
guard. Developing the land also required cooperative
work in terracing and irrigation. Any tendencies towards
fragmentation such as the development of lineages would
have been dysfunctional for it was necessary that the
entire community perform as a unit to achieve success.

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121 In fairness to Freedman, he also posits (1966:160) as
182 contributing factors, the "extent of irrigation" and "the
613 degree to which land is held in joint ownership". neither
621 of which were significant in Sanlei.
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Pasternak (1969:561) suggests that "only when the primitive and hostile conditions of the frontier have been somewhat ameliorated" that localized lineages may appear. Although the conditions in Sanlei have long since been peaceful, localized lineages have not emerged. The temple organization which developed out of the entire community on a cooperative basis has been successful, serves as a source of community pride as well as a community focus, and has continually enfolded each new resident into its structure. I suggest that the original frontier conditions inhibited development of a strong lineage. Creation of a community temple might be considered an historical accident, but once a social unit developed around it, the presence of the temple would continue to inhibit development of lineage organization and ancestral halls. The Liao brothers who enjoyed considerable financial success with the seat-canning factory in Taipei could easily have endowed an ancestral hall in the village, but instead, they made an equivalent contribution to the village temple and are now honored with plaques on the temple wall. I suspect that unless great changes occur such as the establishment of significant class differences in Sanlei, strong lineage organizations will never develop in the

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village, especially in light of the fact that long-established lineages are disappearing throughout Taiwan.

Women's Work Groups

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There are various work activities performed by women: some as a member of a team, some individually but in the company of others, and some as isolates working alone. Many of the work groups have existed with the same membership for many years. In general, most work groups are organized on an age basis which rarely exceeds a period of a few years.

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Six days a week women wash, sometimes seven. There are three major washing locations in Sanlei Ts'un: one at the previously described artificial pond and the other two in the river, one close and convenient to the village center and the other upstream a distance across a narrow bridge. Some people wash in the morning and some in the afternoon, each wash requiring an hour or more of labor. Each woman is responsible for her own washing although occasionally, a woman will wash for a fee which goes into the regular family pool. Although some women wash individually, many wash in social groups although each person does her own. People frequently evaluate a woman's ability as a housekeeper on the basis of the cleanliness of her wash. While washing, there is considerable latitude for conversation, and although the women themselves are not consciously aware of the constraints of the pattern, there are seven regular washing groups, membership from day to